

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9862

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

DIA WASHDC//DI-5//

S E C R E T NICOSIA 2904

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TO TEXTS NBRD PARA 12)

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: A BEGINNING?

1. SUMMARY: DESPITE HEIGHTENED, DISRUPTIVE PROPAGANDA MANEUVERING AND ONE EARLIER POSTPONEMENT, SECOND MEETING BETWEEN DENKTASH AND CLERIDES UNDER AEGIS OF UNSYG SPECIAL REP WECKMANN IS SCHEDULED FOR AFTERNOON SEPT 6. UN TODAY RECEIVED REITERATED ASSURANCES FROM DENKTASH THAT HE WOULD ATTEND, BUT OUR FINGERS ARE CROSSED. THIS MEETING IS ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES BUT WECKMAN HOPES FUTURE DISCUSSIONS

CAN BEGIN TO GRAPPLE WITH POLITICAL PROBLEMS AT WHICH TIME DIPLOMATIC REPS VB GREECE AND TURKEY COULD BE ADDED. ANKARA AND TO LESSER EXTENT ATHENS APPEAR TO BE ON BOARD. WECKMANN HOPES THAT IN DUE COURSE NICOSIA TALKS CAN HAMMER OUT BROAD LINES OF A SOLUTION FOR AUTHENTICATION AT A NEW GENEVA. END SUMMARY.

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2. SINCE ARRIVAL I HAVE HAD SEVERAL TALKS WITH UNSYG SPECIAL REP WECKMANN-MUNOZ. ON FIRST ACQUAINTANCE, I JUDGE HIM TO BE A DIPLOMAT OF GREAT COMPETENCE AND REALISM, WITH NO ENCUMBERING PREJUDICES. HE HAS SHOWN WILLINGNESS DEAL CARDS-UP WITH US.

3. WECKMANN HAS SHOWN US AGENDA FOR SEPT 6 MEETING, WHICH WAS POSTPONED FROM SEPT 2 OWING TO DISCOVERY OF MASS GRAVES OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS. AGENDA INCLUDES TRANSFER OF PRISONERS AND WOUNDED, LOCATION OF MISSING PERSONS, WATER SUPPLY, ETC. SOME ITEMS WERE PROPOSED BY CLERIDES AND SOME BY DENKTASH. FINAL AGENDA AGREED TO BY BOTH. ICRC CHIEF OF MISSION MARTI WILL BE PRESENT, WHICH SHOULD BE HELPFUL. AFTER DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEMS, WECKMANN WILL PUT FORWARD HIS OWN PROPOSAL FOR REOPENING NICOSIA AIRPORT FOR RELIEF SUPPLY FLIGHTS UNDER UN CONTROL, WITH ICAO MANAGEMENT, AND GREEK AND TURKISH REPRESENTATION IF DESIRED, TO PREVENT MISUSE FOR MILITARY RESUPPLY..FROM HIS SOUNDINGS, AND OURS, WE ARE MIDLY OPTIMISTIC ON AN EARLY REOPENING. TECHNICALLY, WE ARE TOLD IT WOULD REQUIRE ONLY THREE OR FOUR DAYS TO GET AIRPORT OPERATIONAL.

4. AT CONCLUSION OF AGENDA AND AIRPOGL DISCUSSION, WECKMANN WILL PUT CLERIDES AND DENKTASH IN A ROOM ALONE TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR PRIVATE DISCUSSION, OSTENSIBLY TO PREPARE JOINT STATEMENT FOR PRESS.

5. IN THE WALDHEIM, WECKMANN SCRIPT IT IS HOPED THAT AFTER A COUPLE OF MEETINGS ON HUMANITARIAN AND RELIEF MATTERS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH CAN BEGIN TO EXAMINE POLITICAL QUESTIONS. AT ABOUT THAT STAGE, GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD EACH BE INVITED ADD ONE DIPLOMATIC OBSERVER OR PARTICIPANT. IN THIS CONTEXT AND OVER A PERIOD OF SOME WEEKS -- WECKMANN MENTIONED ONE MONTH AS HIS TARGET -- IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO HASH OUT THE OUTLINES OF A SOLUTION, PARTICULARLY IF SYG, USG, FRG AND UK EXERCISE A HELPFUL ROLE IN BACKGROUND AS CONCEPTIONS EDGE CLOSER.

6. IN WECKMANN'S VIEW AT LEAST, RESULTS OF ALL POLITICAL AGREEMENTS ARRIVED AT IN ARENA OF NICOSIA DISCUSSIONS SHOULD ULTIMATELY BE AUTHENTICATED BY A RECONVENED GENEVA.

7. WECKMANN HAS PROVIDED EXTENSIVE BACKGROUND TO FOREGOING. THE FIRST STEP HAD BEEN WALDHEIM DISCUSSIONS WITH CLERIDES WHICH
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ATTESTED LATTER'S REALISM, FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS TRY TO BRING KARAMANLIS ALONG ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS. BASICALLY, MR CLERIDES HAD QUOTED THAT A FEDERAL STATE WITH A GEOGRAPHIC BASIS WAS ONLY SOLUTION TO CURRENT IMPASSE, BUT HE HAD ARGUED FOR (A) NO FORCIBLE TRANSFER OF POPULATIONS BETWEEN TWO ZONES; (B) RETURN OF GREEK POPULATION TO NEW CITY OF FAMAGUSTA UNDER CONTINUED BUT TEMPORARY TURKISH MILITARY OCCUPATION AND IMPORTANT BUT UNDEFINED UNFICYP ROLE; (C) A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH TROOPS FROM ISLAND

(PERHAPS 5,000); (D) A PULLOUT FROM OCCUPIED AREAS SOUTH OF NEW FAMAGUSTA ROAD; AND (E) THE FIRST ATILA LINE (OF WHICH NEITHER WE NOR UN HAVE EVER OBTAINED DEFINITIVE TRACE) TO BE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION OF TERRITORIAL DEMARCATION.

8. STEP 2 HAD BEEN WALDHEIM'S DISCUSSIONS IN ANKARA WHICH HAD NOT LEFT HIM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT TURKISH FLEXIBILITY, BUT IN WHICH SOME DOORS WERE KEPT OPEN.

9. STEP 3 WAS SUBSEQUENT OLCAY APPROACH IN NEW YORK ON GUNES' INSTRUCTION. TURKS AGREED TO WALDHEIM-WECKMANN SCRIPT WITH TWO CONDITIONS: (A) NICOSIA MEETINGS WOULD NOT BE A CONTINUATION OF INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS; AND (B) THEY "SHOULD NOT BE AIMED AT SOLVING THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF CYPRUS BUT SHOULD BE CONDUCIVE TO MEETINGS IN GENEVA." THE TURKISH PRESENTATION ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SEND A TURKISH OFFICIAL TO THE NICOSIA MEETINGS. (BY IMPLICATION THEREFORE, GOT ACCEPTED PRESENCE OF A GREEK OFFICIAL.) OLCAY ADDED THAT A UN PRESENCE WOULD BE "USEFUL."

10. STEP 4, WITH TURKEY, WAS LETTER FROM WALDHEIM TO ECEVIT, DATE UNKNOWN, SEEKING PIN DOWN LATTER A BIT MORE.

11. STEP 5 WAS ECEVIT'S REPLY TO SYG DATED SEPT 1, TEXT OF WHICH RECEIVED BY WECKMANN SEPT 5. THIS WAS QUITE POSITIVE IN WECKMANN'S VIEW. ECEVIT NOTED THAT SINCE IT CURRENTLY NOT POSSIBLE, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, RESUME GENEVA, IT DESIRABLE CREATE "AUSPICIOUS CLIMATE" FOR RESUMPTION THROUGH NICOSIA TALKS OF NATURE CONTEMPLATED BY SYG. THESE, ECEVIT STIPULATED AGAIN, SHOULD NOT BE A CONTINUATION OF INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS BUT CONSIDERED RATHER OF A "PREPARATORY NATURE." HOWEVER, ANY POLITICAL AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THIS CONTEXT SHOULD BE WELCOMED AND "WE WOULD WELCOME THIS." PARTICIPATION OF GREEK AND TURKEY MIGHT IN SOME CASES BE APPROPRIATE. HOWEVER, WHETHER OR NOT GREECE AND TURKEY PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSION

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OF ANY ITEM, THIS SHOULD NOT PREVENT DENKTASH AND CLERIDES GOING AHEAD ON THEIR OWN.

12. WITHOUT PROVIDING AS MUCH DETAILED BACKGROUND FOR THIS ASSUMPTION, EXCEPT THAT CLERIDES LIKES THIS SCRIPT AND THINKS HE CAN OBTAIN KARAMANLIS' SUPPORT, WECKMANN BELIEVES ATHENS APPROVES THIS PROCEDURE. THIS BORNE OUT BY REMARKS BY GOG LEADERS TO DUTCH FONMIN VAN DER STOEL (PARA 4, ATHENS 6394).

13. IN OUR VIEW, ALL THIS IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK. IF IT WORKS WE WOULD HAVE A NEGOTIATION GOING IN WHICH WE AND OTHERS (CERTAINLY FRG) COULD CONSTRUCTIVELY EXERCISE INFLUENCE. PROBLEM MAY BE IN THE VERY BEGINNING. DISCOVERIES OF MASS GRAVES OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAS FURTHER POISONED THE LOCAL ATMOSPHERE, ESPECIALLY ON TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE. THERE IS AT LEAST ONE INTELLIGENCE INDICATION

OF WHICH DEPARTMENT AWARE THAT GOT DOES NOT WANT DENKTASH TO HOLD TOMORROW'S DISCUSSION. IF MASS GRAVES MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR DENKTASH TO PARTICIPATE, PRESENT EXTENSIONS OF TURKISH LAND HOLDINGS AND RUMORS OF MORE TO COME DO NOT MAKE IT EASIER FOR CLERIDES TO TALK. AS CARRIED IN PRESS REPORTS, ON SEPT 4 DENKTASH TOLD PRESS THAT "HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION" THAT GOG AND CLERIDES WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT DIVISION OF CYPRUS INTO SEPARATE GREEK AND TURKISH ZONES WITHIN A FEDERATION. DENKTASH ALSO SAID HE EXPECTED GENEVA TALKS RESUME WITHIN TWO OR THREE WEEKS. WE SAW THIS AS A MISCHIEVOUS ATTEMPT TO GOAD CLERIDES INTO CANCELING TOMORROW'S MEETING. IN THE EVENT, CLERIDES' REPLY PARRIED THIS MODERATELY AND IN A WAY WHICH OF ITSELF WOULD NOT EXCLUDES QIS GOING TO THE MEETING. IN SPECIFIC RESPONSE CLERIDES' SAID GOC COULD ACCEPT NO NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND WILL NOT SIT AT TABLE TO ENDORSE FAITS ACCOMPLIS CREATED BY TURKISH INVASTION. IT "WILL ACCEPT NO NEGOTIATIONS ONLY (REPEAT ONLY) ON THE BASIS OF SOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM THROUGH GEOGRAPHICAL FEDERATION." CLERIDES CONCLUDED THAT ONCE NECESSARY PRECONDITIONS MET, GOVT PREPARED EXAMINE WITHOUT PREJUDICE ALL POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS.

14. AS OF EVENING SEPT 5, WE ARE AWARE THAT DENKTASH SEEMED TO BE PREPARING THE GROUND WITH HIS ENTOURAGE FOR A LAST MINUTE REFUSAL TO ATTEND.

15. ALL IN ALL, WE WOULD HAVE PRACTICALLY WRITTEN OFF CHANCES FOR TOMORROW'S MEETING WERE IT NOT FOR A NOON REASSURANCE TO WECKMANN
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FROM DENKTASH AND WECKMANN'S DETERMINATION. WE'LL SEE.
CRAWFORD

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